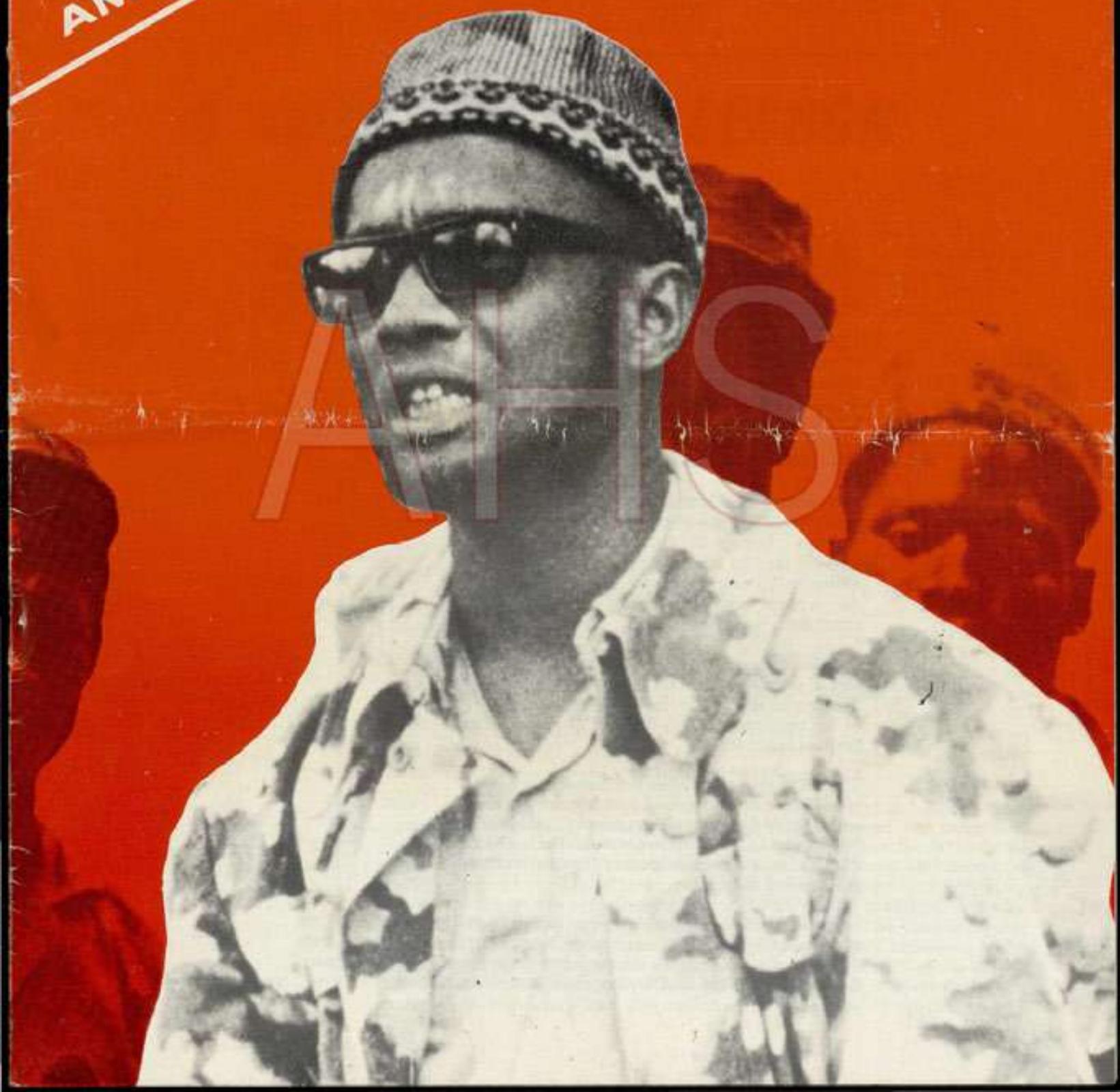


HOMAGE TO  
AMILCAR CABRAL

MOZAMBIQUE  
REVOLUTION



# MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT  
FRELIMO

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Four years have passed since the assassination of the first President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo C. Mondlane. On the 3rd of February, the anniversary of his death, FRELIMO paid tribute to his memory.

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FRELIMO's latest military activities are published on page 13

Last January a FRELIMO delegation headed by the President, Comrade Samora M. Machel, attended the 21st Session of the Liberation Committee in Accra. An excerpt from FRELIMO's statement is quoted on page 15.

On 4th of February, 1973, our comrades-in-arms from the MPLA celebrated the 12th anniversary of the beginning of their armed struggle for liberation. We make a brief analysis of the significance of this date and of the successes already achieved by the MPLA.

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The 500th anniversary of an ambiguous alliance between Britain and Portugal will be celebrated this year, with great fanfare by the Portuguese colonialists and fascists, and by the British imperialists. The real basis of this alliance and the purpose of these celebrations are described on page 19

In order to adapt our programmes of action to the present phase of the struggle, FRELIMO has been holding a series of conferences and study meetings. In this issue we are reprinting the communique of the Central Committee and of the First Conference of Mozambican Women.

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## Amilcar Cabral (1)

### EDITORIAL COMMENT



# A LOSS AND A LESSON

The cowardly assassination of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, by the agents of Portuguese colonialism has come as a profound shock to every one of us — not only to his comrades-in-arms in the struggle against Portugal's domination of our lands, but to all of the world's progressive forces which have come, over the years, to value and to honour his contribution to the cause of African and of world-wide liberation.

There is of course no way to measure the immensity of the loss of this great revolutionary fighter. But it is also true that Cabral had helped to fashion in his country strong political and military institutions which draw their strength from the needs, the aspirations and the participation of the people, institutions which can survive his passing and which will ensure the advance of the struggle. This will prove to be Cabral's legacy to the PAIGC and to the people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. It is this knowledge, drawn from our own revolutionary experience, which enables us to temper our sadness and outrage at Cabral's passing with a spirit of confidence, and a deepening of our resolve.

Let us speak of the man himself, of his contribution and of what he symbolised. In fact, his record speaks for itself. Ably blending the roles of practitioner and theoretician, Cabral perceived clearly the nature of Portuguese colonialism and carefully forged the instruments needed to wage a people's revolutionary war. Characteristically, he also looked beyond the hard, grinding, day-to-day reality of guerrilla warfare and began to conceive of the future of an independent Guinea; as a result he was able to pinpoint the requirements of a true independence for his people, not merely the independence of flag and anthem. The impressive work of political education and social reconstruction undertaken by the PAIGC in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau flowed from such an understanding.

There is even more to his legacy than this, however. Close to home, Cabral represented in his very person the historical unity between the peoples of Guinea Bissau and of Cape Verde. His own work thus gave the lie to Portugal's continuing attempts to divide-and-rule in their centuries-old fashion: he will continue to symbolise this reality and the colonialists will find it impossible to undo this achievement. In addition, Cabral preached, and constantly exemplified, a broader unity — of the peoples of all the Portuguese colonies. The fact that he was one of the founders of the Conference of the Nationalist Organisation of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) is merely one measure of his contribution in this respect. And of course advocacy of the cause of African unity and, beyond that, of the unity of all the world's

Guinea Bissau. Cabral was born in 1931, and died in 1973. He was born in Cape Verde. After studying at a local university, he returned to his home country, where he was able to make many friends of his countrymen, and, in 1956, he began to work for the PAIGC, and later served with the FRELIMO, fighting the Portuguese colonialists and, eventually, the South African troops.

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progressive forces were constant features of his revolutionary practice — abroad, where he tirelessly pursued the goal of internationalism, but, even more importantly, inside Guinea itself. As Cabral himself stated at the first Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana in 1966:

"We will not shout hurrahs or proclaim here our solidarity with this or that people in struggle. Our presence here is in itself a cry of condemnation of imperialism and a proof of solidarity with all peoples who want to banish from their country the imperialist yoke, and in particular with the heroic people of Vietnam. But we firmly believe that the best proof we can give of our anti-imperialist position and of our active solidarity with our comrades in this common struggle is to return to our countries, to further develop this struggle and to remain faithful to the principles and objectives of national liberation."

There is, then, inspiration for all of us in Cabral's life as a fighter and as a revolutionary at the service of his people. But there is a further, more immediate lesson in the manner of his passing which we should also carefully draw. For his assassination by the Portuguese, this heinous act of banditry and crime, is but another manifestation of the desperate state in which Portuguese colonialism finds itself. There could be no more clear indication of the irresistible advance of the armed struggle in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and of Portugal's inability to confront the PAIGC fighters in the battlefield.

Unfortunately for the colonialists this act will avail them nothing. As we have seen, the foundations of the struggle are by now so firm that nothing, not even the death of so remarkable a leader as Amílcar Cabral, can prevent the victorious development of the revolutionary armed struggle for the liberation of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

It is ironic that this assassination may even have hastened the day of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. For there is every reason to expect that the intensified spirit of hatred and determination which must inevitably spring from such a deed will give the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde even more of an impetus — to avenge their leader and to drive the Portuguese from their territory. In a similar spirit, we in FRELIMO have pledged ourselves to intensify our own efforts against a tottering colonialism, in order both to support the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Guinea and to bring closer the day of our own freedom.

The struggle continues.



## Amílcar Cabral (2)

STATEMENT FROM FRELIMO  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

# *This murder will be avenged*

True to their nature and to their policy the Portuguese colonialists are continuing on the path of treacherous, repulsive and vile crimes. They are like this, they always have been like this. In the history of our people there have been innumerable cases when, having been defeated on the battlefield, the colonialists armed a treacherous hand to assassinate the people's leaders so as to disorganise the resistance. In our times they have already used the same method in relation to FRELIMO by assassinating comrade Eduardo C. Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, on 3 February, 1969. Now just two days ago, on 20 January, 1973, through their agents infiltrated into Conakry, they assassinated another revolutionary leader, Comrade Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guiné and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

We must first seek the motives for this assassination, what the colonialists hope to achieve through this barbaric and brutal act. And, in order to discover those reasons, we have to analyse who comrade Amílcar Cabral was, what his role in organising the struggle in Guiné and Cape Verde was and what the situation of the struggle in that country is.

Comrade Amílcar Cabral was 48 years old, and had studied in Cape Verde and Portugal. After taking a degree in Agronomy, he went to work in Guiné, while working, he was able to study the concrete situation of his country and of his people. He organised a nucleus of militants, who later spread through the whole country, mobilising and organising the people and creating the conditions for the launching of the armed struggle.

On 3 August, 1959, in reaction to peaceful demonstrations of dockers at Pijiguiti, the colonialists massacred them, murdering 50 and wounding more than 100. Two years later, on 3 August, 1961, the PAIGC announced that it was going over to direct action, and on 23 January, 1963, the PAIGC started the armed struggle for national liberation.

During 10 years of armed struggle, the anniversary of which the PAIGC celebrates tomorrow, the struggle has spread and it now covers almost the whole country. The PAIGC already controls two-thirds of Guiné, and in these large regions a complete programme of national reconstruction is being implemented. That is, most of the people of that brother country are part of a solid political organisation — the PAIGC; they have a developed administrative structure and a judicial system; they enjoy a new economic system, free from all forms of exploitation; and they have social and cultural services. The people, in short, have taken their destiny into their hands.

All these great successes are linked with the personality and the work of comrade Amílcar Cabral, who was the promotor of nationalism in Guiné and Cape Verde, the organiser of the struggle, as well as the symbol of the unity of the whole people in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. By assassinating him, the enemy hopes to be able to stop the progress of the struggle, smash unity and demoralise the fighters and the people. The colonialists are not intelligent, they do not learn the lessons of history. In 1969, they assassinated the President of FRELIMO, aiming at the same objectives.

Did they succeed in stopping the struggle? No. On the contrary, the assassination of

comrade Eduardo Mondlane increased the hatred of our fighters for colonialism, reinforced our determination and as a result, the struggle advanced at a faster rate. This is what will happen in Guiné and Cape Verde. As comrade Mondlane had done in FRELIMO, comrade Cabral had also created a solid structure, filled by dedicated and conscious militants, able to ensure the continuation of the struggle after his death.

The colonialists are wrong when they think that the death of a man — even if he be a great man — can paralyse the struggle for liberation. In Guiné, too, the struggle continues.

But because of his political stature and owing to his work, the death of this great fighter and leader constitutes an immense loss for the PAIGC and for the whole people of Guiné and Cape Verde, for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies as a whole, for Africa and for all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world.

His work will remain forever, and his life as a fighter and revolutionary at the service of his people and of Africa will be an inexhaustible source of inspiration to us.

FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique while paying tribute to the memory of the great leader, comrade Amílcar Cabral, and expressing their deep sympathy and solidarity with the brother people of Guiné and Cape Verde, wish to reaffirm their determination to carry forward the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation until final victory.

20 January, 1973 has been declared a Day of National Mourning for FRELIMO and the whole people of Mozambique.



## Amílcar Cabral (3)

A MESSAGE FROM THE  
PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO

Soon after the assassination of Comrade Cabral, the President of FRELIMO, who is also the current Chairman of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies, delivered a special message to the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde over Radio Conakry.

# Use the weapons Cabral has left

Comrades of the PAIGC,  
Brothers and Sisters of Guiné and Cape Verde.

It is with a broken heart and filled with hatred that the President of FRELIMO and the Chairman of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies is addressing you, on behalf of your brothers and sisters of Mozambique, Angola, and São Tomé and Príncipe, who are fighting the filth of colonialism and imperialism side by side with you.

Your beloved leader, your supreme commander, our comrade Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, was assassinated yesterday, 20 January, by agents of Portuguese colonialism and international imperialism.

We feel and know the overwhelming depth of your despair and your sorrow. Comrade Cabral, whom we have just lost, was a great leader who united the people of Guiné and Cape Verde under the flag of PAIGC.

Cabral, the fighter, led one of the most exemplary armed struggles in our continent. Cabral, the leader, represented his heroic people with dignity and valour, and gave them prestige in the international arena. We feel and know the crushing and even desperate enormity of your pain, because on 3 February, 1969, we lived through the same moments of anguish, shed the same tears, when our comrade Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, was assassinated.

Comrades,

We are going to talk to you as we talk to our people. We shall talk with the experience we ourselves have had. This crime takes place in a precise context:

1. The great political and military victories of the PAIGC fighters;
2. The verbal camouflage of the real objectives of the crime, under a barrage

of low and incredible slander against the glorious memory of Cabral and the PAIGC leadership.

3. The use of infiltrated PIDE agents to commit the crime. The criminals disguised themselves as «deserters» from the colonial army, or former «political prisoners», in order to weaken our vigilance.

4. The launching of a violent campaign of tribalism, regionalism and racism by the services of fascist Spinola.

Comrades,

From Radio Bissau broadcasts, from the colonialist pamphlets, from the false voices of the loud-speakers in the colonialist planes, we are able to detect the enemy's objectives. The colonialists had six objectives in assassinating comrade Cabral and slandering the leadership of PAIGC.

1. To confuse the masses to make them stop supporting the struggle;

2. to disorganise the life of the people in the liberated areas in order to destroy the structures of peoples' power, your biggest achievement;

3. to sow misunderstanding between the leadership and the base and to create divisions between the different social and ethnic groups of the brother peoples of Guiné and Cape Verde. In so doing, the colonialists hoped to introduce tribalism, racism and regionalism, in short division, among you and in your Party;

4. they want to make us lose all sense of who the real enemy is, for us to get involved in secondary questions and forget what is essential;

5. to demoralise our fighters, leading them to abandon their arms or surrender;

6. to create confusion abroad, to make our friends stop their support.

Comrades,

Tribalism is also one of our main enemies. Where there is tribalism, there is inevitably division, liberalism, indiscipline,

anarchy and chaos, that is, certain defeat. That is why the enemy so insistently foments tribalism and its twin brothers — racialism and regionalism. We have the weapons to triumph in this critical situation in which we are. The weapons, which our comrade Cabral spoke to you about many times, are the following:

1. Solid unity among the peoples of Guiné and Cape Verde, among all social strata and ethnic and religious groups, against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism;
2. Political mobilisation, intensive explanation and thoroughgoing organisation of the masses, for the intransigent defence of the victories of the revolution;
3. the reinforcement of the revolutionary ideology which constitutes the cement of unity in our revolutionary family;
4. the intensification of military operations to support our political action and consolidate our position.

Comrades,

Mondlane died, but the struggle continued and developed in Mozambique. The struggle in Mozambique, like in Guiné and

Cape Verde and throughout the world, is not one man. The struggle is all the suffering and hatred of the people. The weapons in Angola and Mozambique are supporting the people of Guiné and Cape Verde and their great Party — the PAIGC.

Comrades,

The body of our brother Amílcar Cabral has become a new banner with which to attack the enemy. Let us listen to the voice of Cabral, warm and still living on: «We must fight hard comrades!»

Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, our comrades from the Republic of Guiné, the Democratic Party of Guiné and the Government, the whole of Africa and the progressive world are firmly at our side.

Long live the PAIGC!

Long live the common and victorious struggle of Angola, Guiné and Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe!

Long live the armed struggle of the United Peoples of Guiné and Cape Verde!

Long live the glorious memory of our hero and comrade Amílcar Cabral!



*"The PAIGC affirms that this dastardly assassination, far from discouraging its fighters, will only increase their hatred for colonial domination and will thus serve as yeast to accelerate the liberation movement of the African peoples."*





## Amílcar Cabral (4)

FRELIMO'S ADDRESS AT A SYMPOSIUM

# HIS STRUGGLE WAS THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE



Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, Secretary-General of the PDG and President of the Republic of Guinea,  
Comrades-in-arms of the PAIGC,  
Comrade PDG militants,  
Honourable delegates and friends,

Shattered and in tears, we have come with you to bow our heads before the body of our friend and comrade-in-arms Amílcar Cabral.

We too in mourning, we have come to present our condolences to the people of Guiné Bissau and Cape Verde, to the PAIGC, to Comrade Ana María Cabral and to the family of our comrade Amílcar Cabral.

We also present our condolences to Comrade Sékou Touré and the PDG, comrades-in-arms of the Revolution in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and in Africa, and to all the revolutionaries of Africa and the world, for we have all lost a fighter from our ranks.

Little by little, the human contours of Amílcar Cabral are fading away, his warm fraternal and ironic voice, the dynamism of his every gesture, his radiant friendliness, which won over the hearts of even the most hostile, his acute perception of the world and the brilliance of a refined

### SYMPOSIUM IN HOMAGE TO AMÍLCAR CABRAL

Conakry, 31 January, 1973

and cultivated intelligence at the service of the people. At the same time, the features of his work are standing out more clearly, that which he created and which gave him such stature that he will go down in the history of our continent and of mankind as a major figure.

It is not death, a mere biological fatality, which brings us together here. We have come because Cabral's life, his thought, his action, his will and his energy have taken on material form in the PAIGC, embodying the humiliation, the hatred and the will for freedom of the whole people completely and transforming the historical reality of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

Ten years ago, very few people in the world could have known about Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. They appeared as vague points of the Portuguese colonial presence on our continent. It was the struggle, the unity of the people in their fight which, by dealing powerful blows

against the enemy, enabled the people not only to forge their personality, but also to affirm it at the international level. This is what neither the bullets fired at Amílcar Cabral by PIDE agents nor the murderous bombs dropped on the people by NATO planes can ever impair.

To speak of Amílcar Cabral, to pay tribute to Amílcar Cabral, is therefore to speak of the people's struggle, to speak of their great party the PAIGC, to speak of the exemplary struggle he led in such an way.

If it is to be victorious, the struggle requires as a basic essential the unity of the oppressed forces.

Amílcar had the inspired vision to understand, internalise and give material form operationally, to the historical unity of the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. Over and above the divisions and contradictions introduced and incited by colonialism, Amílcar Cabral was able to make the broad masses understand that Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, with their identical historical roots and the same experience of suffering and humiliation, had to unite their destinies, combine their energy and hatred, so as to liquidate Portuguese oppression, acquire their personality and build a new future.

With the creation of the PAIGC on 19 September, 1956, with the struggle, the word 'people' and freedom and dignity were rediscovered in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

The man of the unity of the people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Amilcar Cabral was also able to understand and defend a broader vision of the struggle. We thus find him as a pioneer of the movement for unity between the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, as one of the founders of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) in April, 1961.

The CONCP gave concrete form to the common experience of suffering and exploitation of the peoples of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

It affirmed the African personality of our peoples and their determination to endure any sacrifice to win their freedom.

A fighter for unity, both national and with respect to the Portuguese colonies, at the international level Amilcar Cabral was also an ardent advocate of the unity of all the world progressive forces, a true internationalist. On every continent he raised his eloquent voice and put his brilliant intelligence at the service of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Indochina, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Palestine and of all peoples.

The unity Amilcar Cabral upheld so intransigently took on its true dimension when, with courage, he was able to make unity a working tool, the driving force behind launching the armed struggle, the only way to solve the conflict between ourselves and Portuguese colonialism. Armed struggle, in turn, also created the conditions for further strengthening and developing unity.

The unleashing of armed struggle, as a radical changing of the situation, demands of the leader inspired vision, great political talent and a tremendous organising capacity for communicating with the masses. Amilcar Cabral, whom we have seen to have been a man of unity, appeared to us, as from 1963, as the man of the armed struggle of the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

Contrary to what some people might think, armed struggle is not just a simple matter of firing shots and commanding forces on a battlefield. Considering the balance of power between the forces in our lands and the fact that there is a

merciless, astute, organised and well-equipped enemy with centuries of experience of wars of aggression confronting our peasant masses, who are unarmed, the victims of obscurantism, and who have been deprived of all initiative by long colonial domination, now more than ever armed struggle is an eminently political process.

It is, for us, a matter of mobilising and organising the broad masses, of releasing their creative energies, so as progressively to transform our human potential into a force which crushes the enemy.

A protracted people's war is therefore an instrument for mobilising the broad peasant masses in our countries. Thus, in Guinea Bissau we see the PAIGC launch the struggle in the rural areas and through it mobilise growing numbers of people, increasing its fighting strength until it becomes a superior military force which destroys the Portuguese army.

It is this struggle which, by destroying the colonialist state, its base and instruments of domination, lays the foundations for the emergence of a new situation: the creation, on the ruins of the colonial power, the power of the people. The establishment of the liberated areas provides the material base for the transformation of the anti-colonial liberation struggle into a revolutionary struggle, a struggle for the establishment of new political, economic, social and cultural structures which express the total power of the masses over society as a whole.

Apart from the military successes shown by the liberation of parts of a territory,



the fundamental importance of the growing liberated areas in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique lies in the process of transformation which is taking place there.

In January, 1966, Amilcar Cabral stated that 'the object of national liberation is to reconquer this right usurped by imperialism, that is, the liberation of the development process of the national productive forces.'

The new institutions, the nascent state machinery, the new organisation of production and trade, the creation of education and social services which, in both aims and methods, serve the interests of the masses unconditionally and exclusively, definitively liberate the process of internal development, the historical process cut short by colonialism.

It is these institutions, these structures, which make national liberation irreversible. This is why even when a brutal concentration of enemy forces succeeds in invading an area, such penetration is extremely temporary and the enemy are soon forced to retreat.

Amilcar Cabral, the man who built up unity and made it operative through the launching of armed struggle, is also for us the man of the establishment of the structures of new power. Thus, the process whereby the people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde acquired their personality was being completed, and all that was lacking was international sanction for the legal recognition of an existing reality.

It is within this context that the brutal assassination of Amilcar Cabral happened. The Portuguese colonialist government was noting the imminence of its defeat and the collapse of its military action.

Imperialism could see with anguish the appearance of yet another anti-imperialist base which, owing to its strategic position, would give it less room for manoeuvre against the African revolution.

The ignominious failure of the invasion of the Republic of Guinea, the strategic rear and source of inspiration of the fighters of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and in Africa and the liquidation of the fifth column in Guinea, forced the enemy to seek further desperate measures.

A blow struck against the PAIGC, a blow struck against Guinea Bissau, would weaken the Republic of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. The destruction of the PAIGC's struggle would to some extent isolate the Guinean revolution, releasing troops and material for the wars in Mozambique and Angola.

This is the true significance of the cowardly and loathsome assassination of Amílcar Cabral. But in this respect too, it must be said, the enemy have been defeated. The fight continues and only a man, although a giant, has died.

It is up to us to draw lessons from this.

Amílcar Cabral did not die because he wanted just the independence of his country, a new flag and a new government in his country. It must be pointed out that this blow against the PAIGC today, like that against FRELIMO yesterday in the person of Eduardo Mondlane, and the armed attacks and conspiracies against the Republic of Guinea, Tanzania, Zambia, Congo and other brother countries, are all part of the same plan to liquidate the African Revolution. It was for this African Revolution that Amílcar died.

The enemy reaction to each failure and defeat is to try new methods and tactics. We have to find the formula for overcoming enemy machinations, of detecting them when they are still in embryo and smashing them.

And for this we have a decisive weapon: we have the people, and they neither have nor ever will have the people. If we have the people and lose, it is because we are displaying the ideological shortcoming which Amílcar Cabral, in 1966, already defined as the chief weakness of the African liberation movement. The destruction of colonialism, of imperialism and its remnants, and the establishment of people's power which liquidates all forms of exploitation of man, are our historic tasks.

As we can see, the manifold tasks to be carried out by the national liberation movement go well beyond the physical destruction of the enemy's vital forces, of their material.

It is not from the numbers of soldiers killed, vehicles destroyed or planes shot down that we finally assess the progress or setbacks of our forces. It is in the establishment of the structures of people's power, in the people's consciousness of where their interests lie, and in their determination to defend the power which actually fulfills the interests of the people, that the true significance and progress of the Revolution are to be found.

Ideological unity, therefore, must succeed national unity, completing it and transforming it into an instrument for the fulfilment of the interests of the broad exploited masses.

Ideological unity does not arise spon-



Comrade A. Cabral speaking at the U.N.

taneously and in the abstract. It is not a result of mere library reading. It is the outcome of involvement in practical tasks, the product of the revolutionary practice of the broad masses.

Because the process of armed liberation struggle is not homogeneous in all parts of the national territory, it can happen that we experience different phases simultaneously in our countries. Whereas in one area the immediate task will be to launch armed struggle, in another the task will be to strike deeper roots, while in yet another the aim will be to establish the structures which make the liberation process irreversible.

These heterogeneous situations demand of the leadership, of the militants who constitute the vanguard in the fight, an ideological clarity without which one runs the risk of misconstruing the struggle.

Knowing who should exercise power in a village and on behalf of which social group, deciding on the system of ownership, on how to organise trade — these are immediate and tangible questions which the whole people are capable of understanding and absorbing, so long as we do the necessary political work.

In other words, it can be said that once the physical presence of the enemy has

been destroyed, a new and more decisive conflict arises. The class struggle at an international level, between our people and the colonialist and imperialist enemy, is followed, at the internal level, by a class struggle against national forces with an exploitative bent.

It also means that the previous dividing line between colonisers and colonised has to be further completed by an even deeper dividing line between exploiter and exploited.

This dividing line affects every field, and primarily the ideological and cultural fields. Ideas, values, habits, usages and customs, all the unconscious standards which regulate the everyday behaviour of the individual, are expressions of the ideology and culture of the existing society.

It so happens that we were all born into an exploitative society and have been profoundly imbued with its ideology and culture. This is why an internal fight against what we believe to constitute our moral framework is difficult and may at times seem impossible.

Divesting ourselves of the exploitative ideology and culture and adopting and living, in each detail of everyday life, the ideology required for the revolution is the

essence of the fight to create the new man.

It is not the personal fight of one man wrapped up in himself. It is a mass struggle in which we accept criticism and do self-criticism, purifying ourselves in their fire, which makes us conscious of the path to be followed and fills us with hatred for the negative values of the old society.

When we launch this process, on the one hand the establishment of popular structures of political power and, on the other the fight to acquire a new mentality and behaviour, we are opening the doors to serious contradictions in our midst.

Discontent will arise. All those who were hoping to exploit the people, to step into the shoes of colonialism, will oppose us. Erstwhile companions of ours who initially accepted the popular aims of our struggle, but who in practice reject the internal struggle to change their values and customs, will move away from us to the extent of deserting or even betraying.

The successes achieved militarily, the feeling of the imminence of victory, will hasten the process of the discontentment of a handful of elements frustrated in their ambitions and corrupt tastes. In this way, a breach is made in our ranks through which the colonialist and imperialist enemy will penetrate.

The reactionary forces, the disgruntled elements, will see in an alliance with the enemy a way of safeguarding their petty and anti-popular interests, while the enemy will find in such an alliance a golden opportunity to strike a blow against the Revolution.

In the critical phase through which we are passing of the sharpening of the internal class conflict and the military and political defeat of the enemy, the protection of the Revolution and of its leaders, the survival of the revolutionary structures and of their cadres, depends now more than ever, on the masses.

It is when ideological work is stepped up among the masses that they acquire the necessary vigilance, which makes them sensitive to the slightest deviation from the political line, and this enables them to detect and nip in the bud any enemy infiltration and even the smallest ideological offensive of the reactionaries.

Experience shows that for the revolutionary forces, tragedies like that of today in the PAIGC, that of 1969 in FRELIMO, and also the abortive crime against the Guinean Revolution in November, 1970, are radical vaccines against enemy and counter-revolutionary action, so long as we are able to draw the necessary lessons from them.

Only we revolutionaries can transform temporary setbacks into springboards for new offensives, because only we can avail ourselves of the invincible force of the people, of the decisive weapon of the scientific ideology of the exploited masses.

Amilcar Cabral was not only a leader in the context of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, but for all the Portuguese colonies as well. The blow against the PAIGC, the pain suffered by the people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, is also a blow inflicted on us, a pain that we also feel.

Because, too, Amilcar Cabral's activity was not confined only to the liberation

of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, the responsibility for transforming Amilcar Cabral's death into a new incentive for fighting falls on all of us.

FRELIMO's weapons and the Mozambican people's struggle to advance the national liberation war are also an affirmation of our support for the PAIGC and of the fact that Amilcar Cabral lives on.

At this grave and sorrowful time when the colonialist enemy have apparently won a victory, we wish solemnly to affirm our total confidence, without reservations, in the heroic people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, and in their great party, the PAIGC, powerfully backed by more than ten years' experience of armed struggle, and accustomed to struggle for more than sixteen years by the teachings and action of Amilcar Cabral.

We already know, in detail, how on the front lines the sorrow of the fighters, their tears, are being transformed into military offensives against the enemy. This is the surest sign that Amilcar Cabral lives on.

Long live the unforgettable memory of the hero, fighter and leader Amilcar Cabral.

Long live the united struggle of the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. Long live the PAIGC.

Long live the liberation struggle of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. Independencia ou Morte, Venceremos.

Samora Machel  
President of FRELIMO.

## Amilcar Cabral (5)

(A translation from FRELIMO's internal bulletin)

# THE CONSPIRACY

As soon as the members of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea and of the Guinean Government knew of the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, they met to study the measures to be taken. Invited to participate at the meeting were the FRELIMO delegation which was in the Republic of Guinea on an official visit, headed by FRELIMO's President, comrade Samora Machel; and the ambassadors of Cuba and Algeria.

It was decided unanimously immediately to detain all those who had either directly or indirectly participated in the crime and to hear their statements.

The statements made by the criminals revealed that the assassination was organised by the Portuguese colonialist authorities, with the aim of weakening the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Most of the criminals were

from Guinea-Bissau, had been in the colonial army and had infiltrated the ranks of the PAIGC in the guise of deserters and nationalists. The investigation also revealed that the colonialist plan of assassinating leaders through the infiltration of agents was conceived not only in relation to the PAIGC, but also for FRELIMO and the MPLA.

The criminal agents had specific missions

which besides the assassination of leaders, included the following:

- a) To foment racism, causing division between black and mulatto militants;
- b) To exploit the dissatisfaction of those who, for disciplinary reasons or because of corruption, had been punished by the PAIGC;
- c) To foment discord and opposition among the militants operating in the interior and those working outside the country;
- d) To encourage tribalism, regionalism, etc.

The infiltrated agents succeeded in establishing a network which enabled them to control some cars and the gunboats of the PAIGC. And on the agreed date, while some of them assassinated comrade Amílcar Cabral, another group kidnapped other PAIGC leaders and put them in the boats, which headed for Bissau. However, the Republic of Guinea's Air Force and Navy pursued and intercepted the boats forcing them to return to Conakry.

One of the criminals, Valentino Cabral Mangana, the commander of one of the boats, stated that the Portuguese colonial authorities had told him personally that «Portugal is ready to give independence to the natives of Guinea-Bissau, but under these conditions:

- The PAIGC must be liquidated;
- All Cape Verdians must be excluded from the nationalist movement, because Portugal wants to keep the Islands of Cape Verde, which constitutes a very important strategic base, for it and its allies. Once this is achieved, Portugal will grant independence to Guinea-Bissau and concentrate its troops in Cape Verde to protect the natives of Guinea-Bissau».

Some Guineans allowed themselves to be fooled by this manoeuvre and agreed to act as agents of colonialism, infiltrating the PAIGC to carry out the «conditions» imposed by Portugal.

Another agent, Lansana Bangoura, confirmed what Valentino Mangana had said and gave details of a plan of aggression that the imperialists are preparing not only against the Republic of Guinea, but also against Tanzania and Zambia.

According to this plan, the enemy intend to create disturbances in these 3 countries, through the subversive activity of agents infiltrated in the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA.

— In order to support the confusion thus created in Guinea Conakry, Tanzania, and Zambia, the Portuguese would launch air, land and eventually sea attacks against these countries.

— At the same time, the Portuguese forces would launch large-scale offensives against the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

— The year 1973 is considered in the strategy of Portuguese colonialism, to be as a decisive year for the liquidation of the national liberation movements.

It is up to us FRELIMO militants to draw lessons from this new criminal colonialist action.

The main lesson is very clear: it is the need for vigilance. We have been vigilant, and this is why we have been able to detect and identify many agents sent by the Portuguese colonialists who infiltrated our ranks to assassinate our leaders and subvert the Organisation. But it is necessary to intensify vigilance, and to do it

in a collective way. That is, FRELIMO's security must not depend upon a few people who belong to the Security Department and who have had special training. The security of FRELIMO is the responsibility of each militant wherever he is, whatever his function and the place where he operates. The comrade who makes ambushes and does sabotage, the comrade who cultivates the land, the teacher and students in a school, the representative in a foreign country — all must be alert and vigilant, to detect any infiltration of enemy agents.

Another lesson is this: FRELIMO in its political classes, in its statements, always and everywhere, constantly insists on the fact that side by side with the fight against the colonialist authorities, we have another equally important fight against tribalism, regionalism and racism. Some comrades find it difficult to understand why FRELIMO gives so much emphasis to the struggle against tribalism, regionalism and racism. The recent events in Guinea-Bissau will help us to understand our orientation. In fact, the weapons the colonialists used to strike this terrible blow against the PAIGC were precisely racism, tribalism and regionalism. We have already seen that some of the agents confessed that their mission was to cause contradictions between blacks and mulattoes, and between militants from different tribes. They succeeded in causing these contradictions. And from then on it was easy for them to organise the whole assassination plan. Meanwhile the colonialists in Lisbon and Bissau were rubbing their hands with glee. For history was repeating itself in their favour: as in the past, during the wars of resistance, they were again meeting with success in provoking fights among the people themselves, between different tribes and races, in order to kill the national liberation movement and be able to continue their domination.

Our vigilance, therefore, must be chiefly with regard to our political line — and it is deviations from this line which makes it possible to discover agents. Thus, for example, our policy tells that there must be no tribalism or racism in FRELIMO. Therefore, if someone appears in FRELIMO defending racism or tribalism — that attitude immediately indicates that we are faced with an enemy agent. We must always be vigilant at every moment. To be vigilant is to defend the revolution, to ensure the fulfilment of the interests of our people, to tie down the enemy, to accelerate the process of our struggle and to bring the day of our liberation nearer.



the struggle that took a stiff year before  
this too has started to sweep off  
with FLAFCO. The  
struggle will continue until  
the people have been freed.

# MONDLANE'S WORK LIVES ON

On the 4th anniversary of the death of the 1st President of FRELIMO, FRELIMO militants at their posts inside Mozambique and abroad paid tribute to his memory. We are publishing a summary of the speech made during a ceremony at his graveside.

Comrades,

As in previous years, we have come here today to pay tribute to the first President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, who was barbarously assassinated by Portuguese colonialism four years ago. This is not a routine pilgrimage: it is a solemn event through which we rededicate ourselves to the liberation struggle, assuring Comrade Mondlane that the work he started, the ideal for which he gave his life, is being carried on by those he left behind.

This year we have come to tell him that the movement he structured is constantly growing and becoming stronger, and has already spread to every part of Mozambique. That unity he fought so hard to achieve is being even further strengthened — the Mozambican nation already exists. That the armed struggle he planned and started is scoring even greater successes — we have extended it to the whole of Tete Province and opened a new front in Manica e Sofala Province. We are already launching very large-scale attacks on towns and fortified centres, and we are consolidating our liberated regions. That the number of schools, hospitals, and cultivated fields is growing and that they are functioning increasingly well. That we have not deviated from the line he laid down — our enemy is defined not in terms of race, colour or nationality, but in terms of activity against our people; the struggle for the emancipation of women continues to be one of our most basic concerns; we firmly maintain our position of independence in international

affairs and our struggle to defend our people's right to self-determination is unbroken.

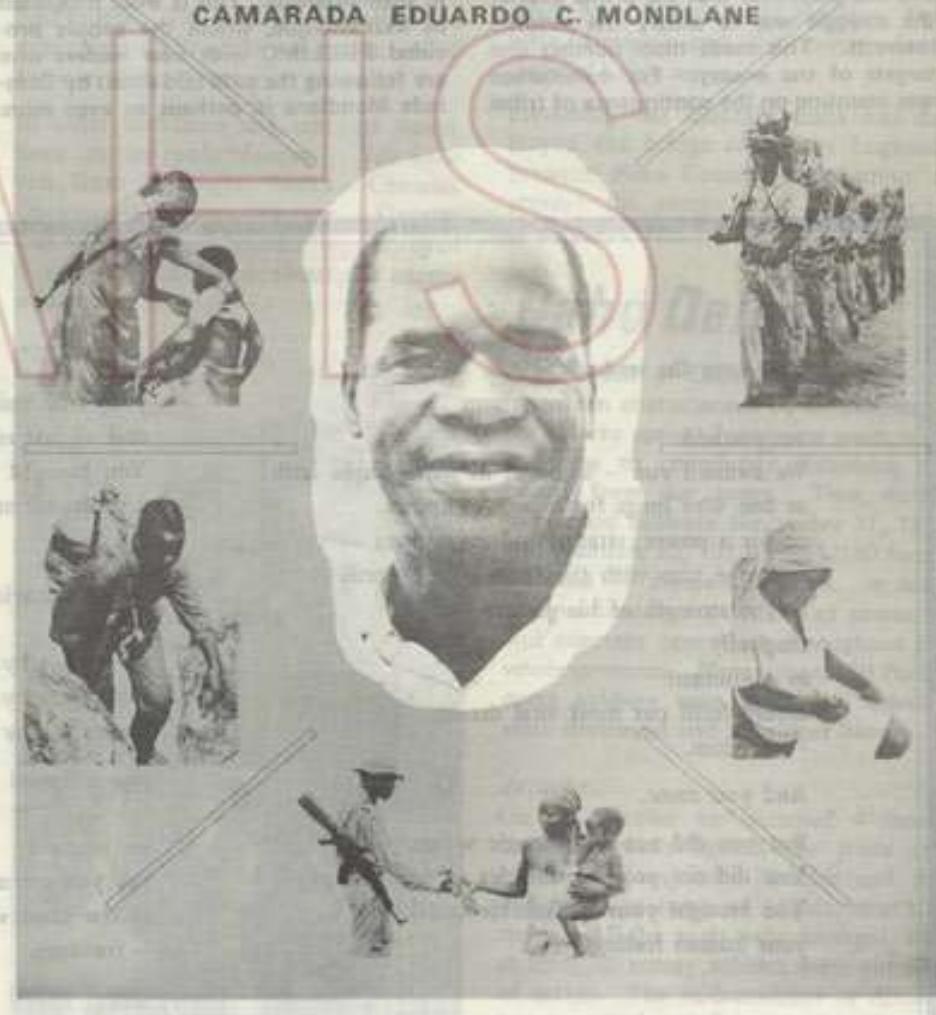
on the international scene, making  
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## 3 DE FEVEREIRO 1969-1973

ANIVERSÁRIO DA MORTE DO  
PRIMEIRO PRESIDENTE DA FRELIMO  
CAMARADA EDUARDO C. MONDLANE



relations, rejecting paternalism and accepting only unconditional aid, on the basis of the total respect of other countries for our struggle and our people. We have come to tell him that our line continues resolutely revolutionary and that we are working with determination for our final victory.

We are commemorating this date only a few days after the death of another great African nationalist leader, Comrade Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands, also assassinated by Portuguese colonialism.

There is a great similarity between the deaths of Eduardo Mondlane and Amílcar Cabral, in the methods used, in the motives and in the objectives.

Both were assassinated because they represented the unity of the people and the guarantee of genuinely popular and revolutionary line, the rejection of all compromise with colonialism and imperialism and the assurance that the prime goal of the struggle was to satisfy the people's interests. This made them number one targets of the enemy. For colonialism was counting on the continuance of tribal

regional and racial divisions in order to pursue its strategy of 'divide and rule', thanks to which it was able to dominate our peoples for so many years. On the other hand, the pursuance of the revolutionary and popular line dashed all the colonialists' hopes of hoodwinking our people with fake independence, independence with a national anthem and flag, but continued exploitation as before.

This is why they assassinated our leaders. The enemy hoped that with their death they could disorganise the liberation movement and halt the struggle: or at least change the orientation of FRELIMO and the PAIGC, putting puppets to head them.

But they failed. They failed because when the assassination took place the revolution was already well underway in our countries, with the active participation of the whole people. And when people have already tasted the fruits of revolution, they do not turn back, they do not accept any solution which is less in their interests. This is what happened in Mozambique, where the people provided FRELIMO with new leaders who are following the path laid down by Comrade Mondlane in perhaps an even more

radical way. This is what will happen with the people of Guiné and Cape Verde, under the leadership of the PAIGC. The enemy have miscalculated once again, but then it is in the very nature of their orientation and mentality to make such mistakes and to repeat them.

Comrade President Mondlane once said in a speech he made to the people that it was not a question of whether we are to live or die. We all have to die sooner or later and there is nothing we can do to prevent it. The question that arises, he said, is whether we are going to live in freedom or slavery. Would we agree to live as slaves when we have the possibility, through our own efforts, to achieve freedom? The Mozambican people led by FRELIMO and by Comrade Mondlane himself at that time, gave their answer to this question on 25 September 1964, when they launched the armed struggle for national liberation, against colonialism and imperialism. The victories we have already scored in the course of these eight years show that Comrade Mondlane was right and that the path we are following is the only sure one.

The Struggle Continues...

You were the leader

for whom

we yearned.

We awaited you — some of us with simple faith as one who longs for a god he knows or for a power, strange and mysterious — someone who with the force of his words or the strength of his gesture magically in a moment would fulfil our most vital dream — freedom.

And you came.

But you did not bring magic words. You did not promise miracles to your people. You brought your unshakable conviction, your human feelings,

your true vision of the world

and of just relations among men.

You brought the idea that would unite us, a profound and scientific understanding.

And thus,  
without magic but

magically,  
sometimes by the force of your words  
sometimes by the strength of your gesture  
sometimes by the idea, clear and certain,

you affirmed yourself as the leader

for whom

we yearned  
and you opened the way  
to our most vital dream  
— freedom.

# WAR COMMUNIQUE

## *Manica e Sofala*

During the period between August and November, 1972 FRELIMO fighters were active in the regions of Mandie, Mungari, Buzua (between Mungari and Chemba) and Vila Gouveia. Moreover, we advanced to a new region, Macossa, where important actions are taking place.

In Mandie our fighters limited themselves to small ambushes, which resulted in 2 lorries destroyed and 10 enemy soldiers killed.

In Mungari we launched 7 major ambushes and other smaller operations on the road Changara - Guro. Eight lorries and 2 tractors were destroyed, and about 25 of the enemy were killed.

In the region of Buzua we attacked 2 camps: Chiganda on the 31 of August, and Tuque, on 7 November. Our ambushes took place mainly on the road Mungari - Chemba and Mungari - Guro. The enemy toll was 3 lorries and 2 jeeps destroyed and at least 30 soldiers killed.

In the new front of Macossa we organised ambushes on the roads linking the village of Macossa with Mungari and Vila Gouveia; 5 trucks were destroyed and about 15 enemy soldiers were killed.

One tractor was also destroyed on the 8 of August, on the road Macossa - Mungari. Our comrades, who were in ambush, ordered the tractor driver to stop, and made him step down. We set him free, together with his assistant, and destroyed the tractor with fire.

In the region of Vila Gouveia, we attacked 2 camps, where the Portuguese were in the process of building 'aldeamentos' (concentration camps); in M'komacha, on the 17 August and in Nhamphassa on the 9 October. Two tractors were destroyed and 9 enemy soldiers were killed. We ambushed the enemy on the roads between Vila Gouveia and Guro, Macossa and Vila Pery. Five lorries and

2 jeeps were destroyed, and about 20 of the enemy were killed.

An important action took place on the 23 August, when a vehicle from the Posts and Telecommunications was destroyed. The vehicle was coming from Vila Pery, going towards Vila Gouveia, and was intercepted on the way by our comrades. The driver was left free and the vehicle with its contents, was destroyed with grenades.

On 15 October our fighters launched an attack against a cotton-trading post in Nhantete. The post was assaulted and destroyed. 350 sacks of cotton stored there were burnt out.

In other ambushes and sabotage operations on the roads Macossa - Vila Gouveia, Guro - Mungari, Buzua - Chemba, Chemba - Mungari, Macossa - Canxixe and Macossa to Nhansalala, we destroyed 6 vehicles and killed about 50 enemy soldiers.



## *Niassa*

During the period between October and December, 1972, our fighters in Niassa Province launched sabotage operations and ambushes in the zones of Vila Cabral, Mwembe, Massangula, Metangula, Meponda, Chissindo and Maniamba. Six lorries were destroyed and more than 40 enemy soldiers were killed.

On January 24 our comrades launched simultaneous attacks against 2 enemy posts, Nova Coimbra and Manhica. Both were damaged and the enemy forces suffered heavy losses.

Previously our sabotage units had destroyed the bridge over river Lugwissi, between Nova Coimbra and Lunho, to prevent the enemy from sending reinforcements.

## *Cabo Delgado*

Our actions in Cabo Delgado Province have been characterised by an increase in the attacks against Portuguese posts, with a view to completely dislodging the enemy from our zones. Thus, during the period between September 17, 1972 and February 22, 1973, FRELIMO forces attacked 16 camps and posts. In addition we launched a number of ambushes and sabotage operations throughout the whole province. More than 150 Portuguese soldiers were killed, 25 vehicles were destroyed and 3 bridges blown up.

### *attacks*

On 18 October we launched 4 simultaneous attacks against the posts of Nazombe, Nangololo, Ntadola and the concentration camp of Abdala, near Macomia. All the posts were damaged, and at least 30 enemy soldiers were put out of action. The 'aldeamento' of Abdala was assaulted and 8 weapons, ammunition and 2 radios were captured. Many Mozambican patriots were also freed.

Two simultaneous attacks were launched by FRELIMO forces against the military camps of Kassenge and Ulumbi, on the 22 November, 1972. In Kassenge, where our force was composed of infantry and artillery, we assaulted the enemy positions and captured some equipment, including 5 guns, blankets, clothing, etc. Five Mozambican patriots imprisoned in the camp were freed.

On the dawn of 1 January, 1973, our forces attacked and assaulted the enemy post of Ulo, near Mocimboa da Praia. The post was badly damaged. During the assault we captured 13 guns, 2 radios, one sewing machine, 4 table clocks, 1 Portuguese flag, clothing, kitchen utensils, etc. Previously, in a combined action to prevent the arrival of enemy reinforcements, a FRELIMO sabotage unit destroyed the Kinyeu bridge, on the road between Mocimboa da Praia and Ulo.

Other posts and camps attacked were Pundanhar (October 13), Namatil (October 24), Quinhentatti (December 20), Nacatar (December 27), Nangade (January 1, 1973), Pundanyar (January 11), Mwagamula (February 13), and Nangololo (February 14 and 22).

#### *ambushes and sabotage operations*

FRELIMO guerrillas mined the road between Mueda and Nangololo in several places. On 3rd February, a very large convoy left the post of Mueda for the post of Nangololo, carrying cannons, mortars and other war equipment to reinforce the post. The cars successively hit our mines and were ambushed - each time a car was blown up the enemy camped on the site to treat the wounded and collect the dead. Thus, the convoy took 8 days to cover about 60 kilometers to Nangololo. When they arrived there, they were 4 lorries short.

Demoralised and weakened, the enemy left two days later for Mueda. On the way back they were again ambushed: one car was destroyed and there were more casualties, forcing them to camp for another night. Only on 15th February, what was left of the convoy managed to reach Mueda.

On January 27, a FRELIMO unit ambushed an enemy convoy going from Porto Amelia to Quissanga. One landrover was badly damaged. Our comrades salvaged from the landrover 6 boxes of

ammunition, civilian clothes, knives and money (5,000 escudos). The bodies of 3 Portuguese were found in the wrecked vehicle, 2 of them were identified as being António da Costa, a policeman and Conceição Maria Simões Costa, his wife.

More ambushes and sabotage operations were launched in the regions of Nangade, Pundanhar, Mwaguide, Marapwa, Ancuabe, Panamozi, Chai, Montepuez, Cuero, Mocimboa da Praia, Mueda and Macomia.

Three bridges were blown up on October 25 and 30 and on November 5. Two spanned rivers Nango and Chiumbulu. The third one linked two sections of the road Macomia - Namele.

## *Tete*

During the period between September and December, 1972, FRELIMO fighters in Tete province shot down 2 helicopters and 2 reconnaissance planes; attacked 7 posts, 2 strategic hamlets and 1 camp; launched 5 operations on the railway line Beira - Zobwe and on the international road Rhodesia - Malawi; and launched a great number of ambushes and sabotage operations. More than 260 Portuguese and 8 Rhodesian soldiers were killed, 3 locomotives, several wagons and many kilometers of the railway line were destroyed, as well as 48 vehicles.

#### *aircraft and helicopters shot down*

On November 14, 1972 a helicopter carrying Portuguese soldiers was shot down by our fighters when attempting to land near the village of Sandifolo. It crash-landed and all who were in it were killed.

On November 20, a helicopter flying over the region of Chamanga was shot down by our anti-aircraft guns.

On December 4, a reconnaissance plane was hit by our fire when flying over the zone of Mpadiue. It crashed into the Zambezi River as it tried to reach Nova Santana.

On December 6, another reconnaissance plane was shot down in the same zone of Mpadiue, and crash-landed at Chuvungo.

#### *attacks*

We attacked the military posts of Manje, Nyakamba (November 20), Mocumbura

(December 4), Nyamadende (December 17), Chachiriri (September 14), Chicomassi (October 10), Nula (October 14), Chancoma (November 16), and Chintuza (December 9).

#### *operations on the railway line*

On November 10, 11, 13 and 14, in co-ordinated sabotage actions, our fighters destroyed many kilometers of the railway line in the zone between Kateme and Caldas Xavier.

On November 25, five Portuguese soldiers were killed by anti-personnel mines placed by our comrades in the places where the railway line Kateme - Caldas Xavier had been destroyed.

On November 26, in an ambush, we destroyed a locomotive with bazooka fire. It was going from Mecunga towards Mecito.

From December 13 to 16, a convoy of 20 military vehicles going from Zobwe to Moatize successively hit our mines. When the convoy finally reached Moatize, 5 vehicles had been destroyed and over 15 enemy soldiers had been killed.

#### *ambushes*

Many ambushes and sabotage operations were carried out by FRELIMO fighters particularly on the roads Tete - Cahora Bassa (7 times, on December 5, 7, 8, 14, 28 and 29), Mocumbura - Luiá, Tete - Mandie, and in the zones of Chipera, Mague, Changara, Chioco, Estima, Dique, Furancungo, Golowi, Sachiriri, Moatize, Cahora Bassa and Mocumbura.

*The following is a translation of the latest war reports:*

«OUR OFFENSIVE IN TETE PROVINCE STARTED LAST NOVEMBER CONTINUES STOP JANUARY 17 AT 1800 HOURS WE LAUNCHED 2 SIMULTANEOUS ATTACKS AGAINST THE POSTS FURANCUNGO AND FINGOE EACH GARRISONING ONE BATTALION PORTUGUESE TROOPS STOP ATTACKS COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL STOP BUILDINGS AND OTHER MILITARY INSTALLATIONS INCLUDING AMMUNITION DEPOTS WIPE OUT STOP ALL VEHICLES DESTROYED DOZENS ENEMY SOLDIERS KILLED STOP ON MARCH 1 WE ATTACKED TURNED INTO ASHES POST MALE-WEERA KNOWN AS GAGO COUTINHO».

# FRELIMO AT THE 21st SESSION OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE

From 8 - 12 January, 1973, the 21st Session of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity was held in Accra, Ghana.

This session was of particular importance:

1. It was the first meeting of the Committee after the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Rabat. At that Assembly the African involvement in the cause of the liberation of our Continent took on greater depth. The spirit of Rabat was going to be put into practice in Accra.
2. Following the decision at Rabat, we attended the meeting as observers, which enabled us to participate fully in the work of the Committee.
3. Also guided by the spirit of Rabat, and taking into consideration the development of the struggle in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa, the meeting was going to review the strategy for the liberation of Africa.
4. A delegation from the Secretariat of the Liberation Committee, led by the Executive Secretary himself, had visited free Mozambique shortly before this session.
5. For the first time after the imperialist coup which toppled President Nkrumah, a meeting of the OAU, and parti-

cularly of its Liberation Committee, was taking place in Ghana. This showed a profound change in the political situation in Ghana, which has rejoined the anti-colonialist struggle, and the progressive nature of the regime which came in on 13 January, 1972.

All these factors led our leadership to decide to send a high-level delegation to the meeting. Thus, our Comrade President Samora Machel led the FRELIMO delegation which also comprised Comrades Joaquim Chissano and Sergio Vieira.

This 21st Session of the Liberation Committee adopted very important documents, which express Africa's decision to increase support for the cause of liberation, and to give priority to the development of assistance to the struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies.

During their stay in Ghana, our delegation went to Nkrumah, birthplace of President Nkrumah, where he is buried. The President of FRELIMO, on behalf of the African freedom fighters, placed a wreath of flowers on the grave of that great African patriot and militant.

The President of FRELIMO addressed the opening session of the Liberation Committee meeting. We quote from his speech:

## OAU MUST GIVE PRIORITY TO LIBERATION

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,

Our struggle is reaching a decisive phase, at the national level as well as internationally. It is therefore important to analyse the role which should be played by the Liberation Committee of the OAU at this stage. It is the Committee's task to inform the OAU, to orientate it on questions concerning the liberation of the continent. The OAU must push the international community on all matters related to Africa, giving priority to its liberation.

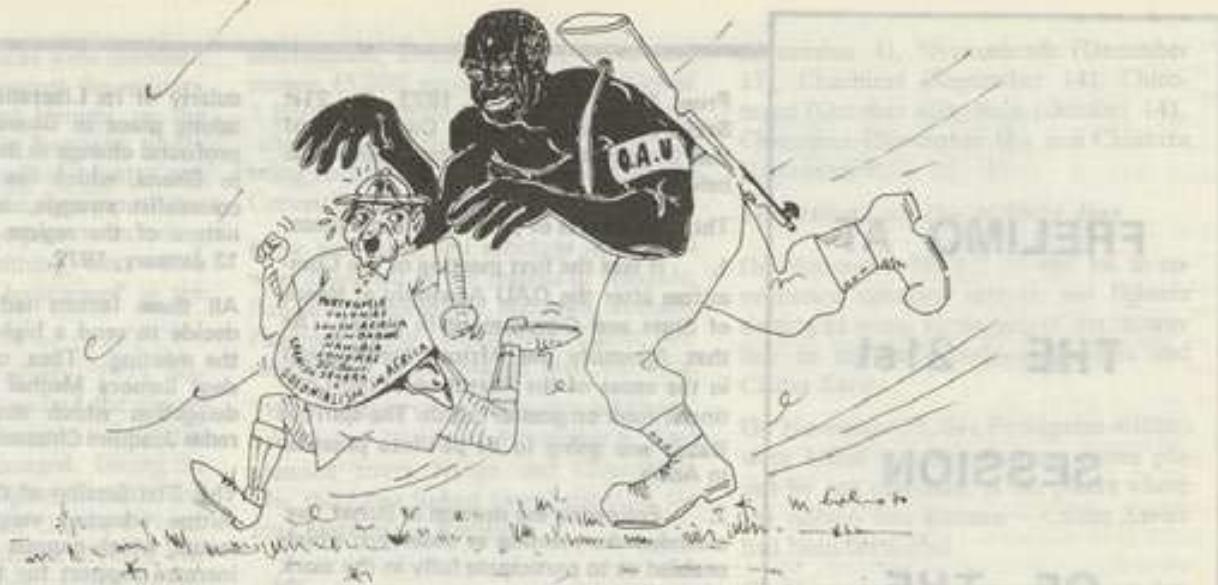
We need your material support. The enemy spend about 2 million dollars per day to wage their war against us. Their NATO allies, namely the U.S., Great Britain, France and West Germany are unsparing in their financial, economic and military support for Portuguese colonialism.

We have to confront modern armies, well equipped, combative, with a centuries-old experience of wars of aggression.

The dimension of our struggle leads to a direct confrontation with the imperialist and racist interests deeply implanted in our country and in Southern Africa.

Mobilising moral, political, diplomatic and material support for our cause and involving the people in it is a major task of the Committee and of the OAU. This must happen first in Africa, because it concerns our own liberation and we cannot ask outsiders for solidarity which we ourselves do not practise. We have no right to criticise the silence of the international press or the indifference of western opinion, if our own press remains silent and our public opinion is not mobilised.

At the international level, we ask the Committee and the OAU to make our programme their own. The Committee and the OAU must, above all, sharpen the vigilance of the international community towards Portuguese manœuvres to pursue the war of aggression and colonial domination under the camouflage of «autonomy» calling Mozambique and Angola «States», etc. In particular, Lisbon is trying to find cracks in



the Africa united front by proposing 'good-neighbourly dialogue', or even claiming that the right to self-determination is being observed in its colonies.

The present Portuguese policy of «Africanising» the war, of installing African puppets here and there, is aimed at maintaining colonial domination and at guaranteeing the continuation of the war by changing the colour of the corpses.

If Portugal wants peace, dialogue, negotiation, it has before it the Mozambican people, represented by FRELIMO, against whom it is waging a war and with whom it must negotiate and dialogue. The day Lisbon is ready to recognise our right to immediate and total independence, it will find us ready for all dialogues and negotiations.

It is evident that any confusion or hesitation on the part of Africa on this basic issue would be highly prejudicial and would have a demoralising effect. Dialogue demands as an indispensable precondition that Lisbon recognise our right to total and immediate independence. It is with FRELIMO in Mozambique, and with it alone, that Lisbon must dialogue.

Portugal the aggressor must be excluded from the international community. It is in no way representative of or responsible for our country, except as an open aggressor which must unconditionally put an end to aggression. It has no right to speak on our behalf, either in the diplomatic, political, economic or social fields. Questions of education and health, of the economy, of labour, of sport – all matters related to the Mozambican people must be put forward by their representative – FRELIMO.

The Committee and the OAU must give us the diplomatic support to achieve a situation where FRELIMO will represent the people of Mozambique and their interests at all levels: in other words, which will enable our people to take their rightful place in the international arena, acting in equality with other peoples, for the common cause of freedom, justice, progress and world peace.

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,

The Ghanaian people have accorded us a fraternal welcome, with warm friendship and solidarity. This is the result of

reconquered freedom, of the mobilising activity of their Government and of the Council for National Redemption. We thank the people of Ghana, through their leaders,

We hail and thank the Executive Secretariat and the Liberation Committee, the General-Secretary of the OAU for their action in support of our cause, for their increasing interest, of which their visits are proof.

We congratulate with warmth and friendship our comrades-in-arms of the MPLA and the PAIGC, who are winning great victories against the Portuguese colonialists. Their victories are celebrated by our people as own victories. They encourage and help us in a decisive way. We hail the rebirth of the political struggle in São Tomé and Príncipe, a Portuguese colony very often forgotten, with a heroic tradition of struggle. We wish to confirm the words of our Comrade Amílcar Cabral on the support to be given to our comrades in São Tomé and Príncipe. We support the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe, which is not a new organisation for us. We congratulate them for having been able to put an end to their internal contradictions, uniting to concentrate their efforts on the task of liberation. The gap that existed in the fighting front of the Portuguese colonies is now filled. We wish the MLSTP the greatest successes.

We greet the comrades from ANC, our comrade fighters from Namibia and Zimbabwe, those from the Comoro Islands, from the Somali Coast, from Seychelles, who in difficult conditions are tirelessly fighting for the freedom of their countries. Their struggle helps us very much.

We are entering the ninth year of our struggle. The fight against oppression is being reinforced throughout the world – in Africa, in Indochina, among the Arab countries and in Palestine, and in Latin America. To all we bring the solidarity of our combat, our pledge always to fulfill our national and international duty.

The Struggle Continues.  
Independence or Death,  
We shall Win.

Samora M. Machel  
President.

# MPLA

## 12 years of armed struggle

The Fourth of February 1961 holds a very important place in the modern period of the Angolan people's history. The historic importance of the armed action carried out by MPLA militants against the military prisons in Luanda lies in the fact that it carried the people's centuries-old resistance to foreign domination to a higher level, a new level. It was the beginning of the Angolan people's organised national liberation struggle, having a progressive nationalist organisation — the MPLA — as its catalyst and guide.

The Fourth of February 1961 also represents the will and determination of the people to put an end, once and for all, to centuries-old political and economic oppression, to the humiliation that colonialism represents, and to overcome the economic underdevelopment which is a consequence of colonialist and imperialist exploitation.

During those 12 years of armed struggle, the Angolan people, under the leadership of MPLA, won great victories in the political and military fields.

Thus, after the creation of the first politico-military region in 1961, the second politico-military region was opened in 1963 in the district of Cabinda and, in 1966, 1967 and 1969, the third, fourth and fifth regions were created, comprising the districts of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Bié. This means that 10 of the 16 districts into which Angola is divided are the theatre of guerrilla activities. The fifth politico-military region, comprising the districts of Bié and Huambo, is situated in the very heart of Angola and is of a great demographic and economic importance. Because of this, the Portuguese colonialists set up a strategic barrier across this tableland which MPLA forces broke through in mid-1970.



Ruins of a Portuguese post destroyed by MPLA fighters.

### MILITARY VICTORIES OF MPLA DURING 1972

|                                |      |                            |     |
|--------------------------------|------|----------------------------|-----|
| Enemy troops put out of action | 837  | Ambushes                   | 108 |
| African mercenaries killed     | 64   | Vehicles destroyed         | 43  |
| Angolans freed                 | 387  | Bridges destroyed          | 12  |
| Assorted weapons captured      | 352  | Attacks on barracks        | 27  |
| Grenades captured              | 185  | Barracks totally destroyed | 5   |
| Ammunition captured            | 4834 | Boats sunk                 | 7   |
| Radio sets captured            | 9    | Helicopters shot down      | 5   |

Desperate with the military and political victories won by the Angolan people, on May 1970, Portugal began using chemical weapons to destroy the crops in the liberated areas.

However, the results were not what had been expected by the Portuguese. The spirit of sacrifice of the people, the deep roots the MPLA had established inside the country and the solidarity of independent African States, the socialist countries and other progressive forces, were able to minimise the effects of this new criminal action of Portugal, and to transform it into another defeat for the colonialists.

In the liberated areas, the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, are building a new life, free from the colonial oppression. Schools, medical assistance, and dignity are being enjoyed by a people who, previously, knew only illiteracy, disease and humiliation.

The people took up their destiny in their own hands, and the struggle in Angola advances into further victories.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Angola and Mozambique!

Long live the solidarity between MPLA and FRELIMO!

# END THE ALLIANCE



## END BRITISH COLLABORATION IN PORTUGAL'S WARS

This year the Caetano regime in Portugal and the government of Edward Heath and the Conservative Party in Great Britain are celebrating the oldest of European alliances. 600 years ago, on 16 June 1373, the first Anglo-Portuguese treaty was signed, between King Edward III of England and Fernando I of Portugal.

The anniversary of this event is being made the occasion for some spectacular propagandizing—including international football matches and boat-races, son et lumiere shows at Lisbon's Convent of Jeronimos, a possible marine industries symposium culminating in the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Portugal in June, and the reciprocal visit of Caetano himself to London between 16-19. This is the first time a Portuguese Prime Minister

has visited Britain since before the fascist coup of 1926, and is in itself a good indication of how the ancient alliance is being revived. The aim of these extravagant celebrations is transparently clear—it is to strengthen the British trading and investment links that help shore up the Portuguese colonial economy, to give British capital an increased stake in the repression of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné (not to mention the workers of Portugal itself), and to consolidate the political support of the British government for Portuguese fascism.

The treaty that is the object of these celebrations was drawn up as part of an intrigue in the Iberian Peninsula by which John of Gaunt, the most powerful Englishman of his time, hoped to win the

crown of Castille. He failed in this, and the only concrete result of the 14th century alliance was that a contingent of English archers helped the Portuguese defeat the invading Castillians at the decisive battle of Aljubarrota on August 14, 1385. This battle firmly established Portugal as an independent nation-state. John of Gaunt's attempt to invade Castille the following year, however, was an ignominious fiasco, and as he had run out of money the Portuguese had to supply the ships to get his men back to England.

After this the Anglo-Portuguese alliance effectively lapsed for the next 300 years, and in fact in the period 1580-1640, when Portugal was under the Spanish crown, England frequently engaged in hostilities with her 'oldest ally', and had

no qualms about aiding the Dutch in their raids on the far-flung outposts of the Portuguese seaborne empire. It was an English fleet for example, that inflicted a shattering naval defeat on the Portuguese in 1619 which destroyed Portuguese hegemony in the Persian gulf.

When the alliance was revived it was in a qualitatively different form in a series of treaties (1642, 1654, 1661) which culminated in the famous Methuen treaty of 1703. These treaties guaranteed English support for Portugal's political independence from Spain, but in return the Portuguese economy was subordinated to the expanding power of English capital. Portugal was condemned to export primary goods (chiefly wine, which was allowed to enter England at a lower tariff than French wines), while importing manufactured goods, in particular textiles from England, thus blocking the development of the nascent Portuguese cloth industry. The consequent deficit on Portugal's balance of trade was covered by the gold of Portugal's richest colony, Brazil, which was used not to develop Portuguese capitalism, but to pay for essential English imports and therefore enriched London rather than Lisbon.

The reduction of Portugal to the status of a semi-colony of Britain involved her on the British side in both the War of the Spanish Succession and the Napoleonic Wars, in both cases gaining nothing from the conflict save the dubious honour of being seated among the victors in the peace conference. In fact her involvement in the Napoleonic Wars lost Portugal her Brazilian market and the profitable re-export of Brazilian produce, due to Britain's insistence that in return for evacuating the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, Brazilian ports should be opened for trade with Britain. In 1810 Britain went even further and extorted a treaty from the Portuguese which actually let British goods enter Brazil at a lower price than Portuguese goods, so that as early as 1812 British exports to Brazil already exceeded those of Portugal. Portugal's positive trade balance with Brazil disappeared, to be taken over by Britain. The political 'independence' of Brazil, stage-managed by the British Foreign Minister, Canning in 1825, was merely the logical sequel to this, and the means of finally securing a huge Latin American market for British Manufacturers.

The loss of Brazil removed the main support of the ailing Portuguese economy, which throughout the 19th century was convulsed by recurrent financial crises. Portuguese colonial policy attempted to substitute Africa for Brazil, but in the scramble for Africa Portugal was outmanoeuvred by far stronger imperialist powers, especially her 'ally' Britain, and her dreams of linking up Angola and Mozambique in a transcontinental empire were rudely shattered. Britain colonialists regarded the Portuguese as decadent and incapable of shouldering the 'white man's burden' and Lord Salisbury's government had no intention of letting Portugal interfere with plans for a Cape to Cairo route under British control.

As it was Angola and Mozambique easily fell within the British sphere of influence. Most of the capital used to open up Mozambique was British, and at the turn of the century a quarter of the Europeans in Mozambique were British subjects. All in all, for the period 1870-1936 more than half the capital invested in the Portuguese colonies was British and had been raised in London.

The fact that fascism was set up in Portugal after the 1926 coup did not materially affect Anglo-Portuguese relations. Even Salazar's policy of supplying Nazi Germany with strategic minerals during World War II did not shake the alliance; and neither did his declaration of a national day of mourning on hearing of Hitler's death. Nor was any British voice raised against the admission of Portugal to NATO in 1949, despite the pious preamble to the NATO charter about the defence of democracy and freedom etc.

Today the Anglo-Portuguese alliance is one of the most important manifestations of Western support for Portugal's colonial wars. The British government has been carefully cultivating links with the Portuguese regime — various right-wing MPs have visited the colonies to perform enthusiastic PR jobs for the Caetano regime, assorted Portuguese officials have visited London over the past year to discuss the consequences of Britain's entry into the EEC for Portugal and Portugal's own negotiations with the EEC, and the British Foreign Minister, Douglas-Home, visited Lisbon in June, 1971, a visit that was returned in March, 1972 when Rui Patrício went to London for a

week. The lavish reception given by the British government to Patrício contrasts violently to the treatment accorded to the late Comrade Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC. Attempts were made to obtain an interview for Cabral at the British Foreign Office; this was refused on the grounds that 'it would be inappropriate since Mr. Cabral is committed to violence against a government with whom we have friendly relations'.

Coupled with such remarks by Douglas-Home in Lisbon ('No-one can ever accuse the Portuguese of racism. You have set an example to black and white') this shows how much sympathy the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné can expect from British Conservative ministers.

British policy towards Portuguese colonialism is of a piece with its strategy for the whole of Southern Africa — the attempts to work out a 'settlement' with the Smith regime in Zimbabwe, the complicity in the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South African troops, the policy of arms sales to South Africa etc. All this is of course motivated by the huge economic stake which Britain, more than any other imperialist power, has in the continued suppression of the peoples of Southern Africa. The motivation for celebrating the 600th anniversary of what seem at first sight rather irrelevant scraps of paper is quite clear — it is to protect the British investments in the Portuguese colonies and in South Africa, to reinforce the oppression and exploitation of our people, and to ensure that Portuguese soldiers will go on being killed in defence of Western imperialist interests.

**This article was written for "Mozambique Revolution" by the British Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.**

*The development of our struggle constantly gives rise to new situations which require new solutions. Certain approaches which yesterday appeared to us final and satisfactory today seem inadequate, out of place and sometimes even incorrect.*

*In the process of our growth we learn; and through discussion of our experiences, sometimes inspired by the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we are able to find the most correct path, suited to the specific phase of our development, in every sphere – political, military and in national reconstruction.*

*One constant and unchanging principle guides us in the search for solutions: always place the interests of the people before all else.*

*This is not merely a matter of theory. It is the people who want to know how to organise production in order to obtain better results. It is the health cadres who ask themselves if they should concentrate on giving simple daily treatment or if they should give priority to preventive medicine. It is the political commissars who want instructions on how best to implement our anti-racialist policy, now that we are advancing into zones with a greater concentration of the white population. It is the*

*teachers who want to find ways of more closely relating their lessons to the political and geographical environment. It is the soldiers who need more perfected military techniques to counter the methods used by the enemy – for example, laying mines on newly-constructed roads. It is the women who feel frustrated because traditional and colonial education left in them a feeling of inferiority towards men, which prevents their full participation in the struggle: they wish to know how to get rid of this complex.*

*Conscious of these realities, FRELIMO has been holding a series of Conferences and study meetings with the aim of adapting our programme to the present phase of the struggle. Thus, the Central Committee met last December. In January a National Pedagogic Seminar took place. The First Conference of the Health Services and the First Conference of Mozambican Women were held in February and March.*

*In this issue of *Mozambique Revolution* we are publishing the final communique of the Central Committee meeting and of the 1st Conference of Mozambican Women. We shall publish the documents of the other meetings in our forthcoming issue.*

# COMMUNIQUE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee of FRELIMO met from 4 to 30 December, 1972 to analyse the general situation of our struggle.

The agenda included a critical analysis of all FRELIMO activities from the point of view of their efficiency and their conformity with the principles of the Organisation. On the basis of this analysis, and also taking into account the development of the struggle and the prospects for the future, the Central Committee revised some of the structures, bringing them up to date.

One of the most relevant aspects of the meeting was the spirit of unity, frankness and comradeship which prevailed among the participants, and their concern to study all the problems deeply in order always to be able to find correct solutions. The C.C. noted that this unity, is the result of an ideological identity, which was already evident in 1970 during the preceding meeting of the C.C. and which has

been consolidated over the past two years. Being thus aware that ideology is the basis of unity, and that the present tasks of our revolution, the political, social and military features of the liberated zones, and the advanced phase of the work of national reconstruction require a clarification of the political line, the C.C. devoted a great part of its work to a study of the political and ideological questions posed by the struggle.

It was reaffirmed that our ideology is that which corresponds to the interests of the great majority of our people, who have been oppressed and exploited, and who are today shouldering the major responsibilities in the liberation struggle. Our ideology is that which brings about the unity of the whole Mozambican people, over and above regional, tribal and racial differences in the struggle against foreign domination and the exploitation of man by man.

During the 26 working days of the meeting, the C.C. made a thorough analysis of all sectors of activity and formulated solutions for many of the problems which have cropped up in the context of the liberation struggle.

On armed struggle, the C.C. noted that great progress had been made as shown by the opening of the new front, Manica e Sofala, the consolidation of the liberated regions and the launching of large-scale attacks. The C.C. underlined the fact that these military successes are above all political victories.

The C.C. made an analysis of the situation in national reconstruction on the economic, health and educational fields and emphasised that these activities must be based on a clear political orientation, so as to prevent a resurgence of colonial and exploitative practices that would rob the people of the fruits of their labour.

Great importance was attached to the work in the fields of education and culture, the success of which is apparent in, among other things, the increased number of primary schools and the progress of the secondary school. The C.C. considered that revolutionary Education and Culture are the basis of our total liberation, as they create the conditions for the establishment of a truly Mozambican personality, for the liquidation of the dead weight of the past, like superstition, and of all vestiges of the colonial society which prevent our total involvement in the struggle.

The C.C. stressed the vital role that production plays in our people's war. It analysed the progress achieved in the liberated zones in this field — the extension of the cultivated areas, the introduction of better techniques, the diversification of agricultural production and the development of cottage industries. Concerning commerce, there has been an increase in the number of trading centres and in the volume of trade. The C.C. underlined the importance of continuing with these efforts in order continuously to raise the standard of living of the masses and transform the liberated zones into a model and source of inspiration for the people still under enemy domination.

With the aim of increasing efficiency in this sector and stepping up the rate of development of our liberated zones, the C.C. decided to create an organ entrusted with the responsibility for economic activities. This organ will coordinate the work of all sections connected with production and commerce.

The FRELIMO health services have deve-

loped in such a way as to meet the needs of the liberated areas and of the new advanced zones. At the moment the health services have two fundamental tasks: to provide assistance for the growing number of victims of repression, especially among the population; and to wage a frontal attack aimed at creating a healthy Mozambican, free from the inheritance of disease left by colonialism.

The C.C. analysed the achievements and successes obtained up to now — the organisation of courses for the training of health cadres and the establishment of a network of hospitals and medical posts — and decided that they must be reinforced so that they may better support the general efforts of national reconstruction. With regard to foreign relations, the C.C. noted that over the past years, as a reflection of the great success achieved internally, the prestige of FRELIMO has affirmed itself more and more and led to the growing isolation and discrediting of our enemy, the Portuguese colonialist government. At the same time, our relations with the progressive forces in the world, which are fighting for the same goal of liquidating colonialism and imperialism and the exploitation of man by man, have been consolidated.

The C.C. also considered that one of our priority tasks must be the struggle for the emancipation of women, a struggle which must be a major concern of all Mozambican revolutionaries, both men and women. This will permit the effective mobilisation of the abilities of Mozambican women in the service of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and will also put an end to discriminatory and exploitative practices of traditional and colonial society. In this way, Mozambican women will fully assume their role as citizens of free Mozambique.

To give more impetus to the struggle for the emancipation of women, the C.C. decided to create an Organisation of Mozambican Women which has as its nucleus the Women's Detachment. This new Organisation will bring together all women engaged in the various sectors of activity.

The C.C. decided, on the proposal of the provinces and the Mozambican women to declare 7 April, the date of the death of Comrade Josina Machel, head of Social Affairs and of the Mozambican Women's Section in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mozambican Women's Day. The C.C. was prompted to take this decision by the spirit of militancy and of revolutionary sacrifice which characterised the



Comrade Josina Machel

life of Comrade Josina Machel. Her work as a clandestine militant while in the zone under colonial domination, and her role in the FRELIMO Women's Detachment, for the emancipation of Mozambican women, are outstanding examples for all militant revolutionaries.

Analysing the statutes and programme of FRELIMO in the light of the practical experience gained in the past 4 years, the C.C. resolved that it was necessary to bring up to date certain structures, rules and organs, to make them more efficient and adapted to the present phase of our struggle.

Through a deep study of the problems of our war, this historic meeting of the C.C. was able to clarify many aspects of our strategy and tactics. It also brought to our attention the need for constant study, for knowledge of Mozambican society in all its complexity, as the way for FRELIMO to be able to affirm its presence in the whole country, and to carry the flame of freedom to all the regions where our compatriots still suffer under the yoke of colonialism.

The watchwords formulated at the meeting which constituted a true landmark in the life of our Organisation, were: general offensive on all fronts and extension of the war to new zones. By implementing these watchwords we shall be striking the enemy in their most vital areas, and we shall be changing the balance of forces in favour of our people. We shall, in short, be speeding up the final crumbling of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism in our country, and continuing with the building of a free, prosperous and strong Mozambique.

# FIRST CONFERENCE OF MOZAMBICAN WOMEN

The situation of women being exploited and oppressed beings is not a phenomenon limited to Mozambique. In most countries and on every continent women are to differing degrees deprived of their most fundamental rights, prevented from taking part in political life, confined to the tasks of procreation and looking after the home, and subject to tyrannical authority.

Yet it is in countries such as ours, where traditional concepts on women's submission and colonialist concepts have been combined or juxtaposed, that this oppression and exploitation take the most extreme forms.

In Mozambique a genuinely popular revolution is taking place and being consolidated. As a result of the armed struggle

## COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE

for national liberation launched by the people under the leadership of FRELIMO, vast areas which cover about one-quarter of our country have been liberated, and the struggle has advanced into a new province — Manica e Sofala. In the liberated regions, in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, a new life is being built, inspired by an ideology which puts the interests of the masses of the people before all else, which rejects all forms of oppression and exploitation by any individual, group, class or sex over another, and which aims at establishing healthy and harmonious human relations.

The fight to liberate women occupies an important place within this revolution. It was in this context that the 1st Conference of Mozambican Women was held from 4 to 16 March, 1973.



A view of the Conference

The Conference was attended by more than 80 delegates engaged in all sectors of activity, with members of the Women's Detachment predominating.

The agenda included the following items: (1) Reports on activities, (2) Analysis and description of Mozambican women's position in traditional society, colonial society and the present situation, (3) Examination of Mozambican women's involvement in the process of the revolution, giving special attention to the following points: obstacles to their involvement and the nature of existing contradictions, definition of goals, formulation of strategy, tasks of the Organisation of Mozambican Women and its place within the structure of FRELIMO.

The Conference was chaired by Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, who defined in his opening speech the historic-political context in which the Conference was taking place, analysing the origins of women's alienation and putting forward the line to be followed to achieve success in the struggle for the emancipation of women. The Conference adopted the speech by the President of FRELIMO as a basic document.

On analysing the reports given by comrades engaged in armed action and working in schools, hospitals, nurseries, etc., the Conference noted that Mozambican women organised in the Women's Detachment were working in a correct way, with a high level of consciousness and great efficiency. Among the tasks performed by the Women's Detachment are fighting and mobilising, organising and defending the people, transporting material, ensuring production, recruiting, security work, taking care of nurseries, clandestine work, etc.

The Conference noted, however, that there was a psychological factor affecting most comrades which made it difficult for them to carry out their tasks — an inferiority complex. On further analysis, the Conference found the reasons for this complex to lie in a combination of the traditional system of education and the colonial system. Indeed, it was noted that throughout their lives, at different phases of their growth, girls are subject to what is known as 'initiation rites' which, although varying in form from region to region, all have in common the fact that they instill in girls a submissive attitude towards men and teach them

that their place in society is a secondary one. During the puberty ceremony, specifically, girls are told that their role henceforth is to produce children and to look after their husband and home, all other tasks being forbidden them. These initiation rites, which are surrounded by an aura of mystery and religious solemnity, have a very powerful psychological impact and make girls blindly accept what they are taught, traumatising them for the rest of their lives.

The Conference further noted that these initiation rites were merely one of the manifestations of the concept of women's inferior position prevailing in traditional society. Other manifestations are, for example, the bride-price, which reduces a woman to a mere object to be sold and bought and makes her a simple object of pleasure and reproduction in the eyes of the buyer – the husband. Other examples are polygamy and forced and premature marriages. In the latter cases, children often no more than 10 years old are forced to marry. Apart from reflecting a reactionary attitude, these practices constitute a serious obstacle to women's involvement in the liberation struggle and this in two respects: because they condition women to feel alienated, and because they confine her to domestic life and agricultural production at the service of her husband, depriving her of any prospects of taking part in political, cultural or social work.

The colonial system further worsened this situation. Itself also instigated by the idea that women are 'the second sex', it subjected Mozambican women to double oppression and exploitation: first the general oppression and exploitation inflicted indiscriminately on men and women alike, in the form of forced labour, compulsory crops, arbitrary imprisonment, racial discrimination, etc. And then the other more specific form directed only against women. By separating women from their husbands through forced labour and denying them the means to support their homes and children, colonialism created the conditions whereby women were forced to resort to selling their bodies, to prostituting themselves, in order to be able to survive. Women debased themselves, degraded themselves and were subjected to the most extreme humiliation by the colonialists, who not only made of them

a labour force and machines for reproduction, but also made them into instruments of pleasure.

Having thus analysed the situation of women in our country, the Conference went on to examine the fighting strategy to be used in restoring to women their due place and rights in the new society we are building in a revolutionary way. First the two poles of the contradiction were pinpointed. The Conference declared that the fundamental contradiction exists between Mozambican women and the system of oppression and exploitation in force in our country, which excludes women from making any decisions on the life of society, even on matters which directly affect them. The Conference drew the attention of all delegates to the danger of misinterpretation as regards the targets of the fight, giving the example of the position taken by the so-called women's liberation movements which proliferate in the capitalist countries. These movements direct their fight against men, making them their target and accusing them of being responsible for their oppression and exploitation. The Conference pointed out that working men are themselves exploited and oppressed in those societies, as well as women, and that whatever reactionary ideas they may have about women have been instilled in them by the system under which they live. It is against the system, that is, against the negative aspects of tradition and

against colonialism and imperialism, that Mozambican women must direct their struggle.

The Conference noted that the present moment, when a genuine revolution is taking place in Mozambique, is highly favourable for this fight. The revolution has set itself the goal of destroying the old social order based on minority rule, in order to build on its ruins a new society in which power belongs to the working masses, precisely to those who were exploited and oppressed under the previous system, among whom, specifically, are women as such.

The Conference also outlined the means to be used by Mozambican women to achieve their liberation. Considering that the liberation of women cannot be separated from that of men, and that the enemy and the objectives are common, the 1st Conference of Mozambican Women pointed out that the only road for women to take was to engage in the tasks of the struggle, in the revolutionary process.

In this way, they will contribute directly to the victory of the revolution, that is, to hastening the day of their liberation. What is more, by joining the struggle at all levels, they are opening up new prospects for their future, destroying in practice the concepts which relegated them to a passive and voiceless role in society. In short, they are creating the conditions for participating in the exercise of power, taking their destiny into their hands.

At the same time, this participation cannot be arbitrary or casual, it must come within the framework of FRELIMO, the revolutionary political organisation which upholds all the interests of the exploited people and which is capable of giving a correct orientation to women and defining their tasks.

The Conference hailed the Central Committee's decision at its meeting in December 1972 to create an Organisation of Mozambican Women. Such an organisation had become a necessity, given the fact that the only women's body was the Women's Detachment. It was noted, in fact, that many women were working outside the ambit of the Women's Detachment and did not come within any structure of their own. There were also many potential women militants who did



not fulfil the requirements for joining the Women's Detachment and who remained in the fringe of the revolutionary process. The new Organisation will therefore act as a broad front with the Women's Detachment as its nucleus and driving force, and will mobilise, organise and unite women, young and old, married and single, wherever they may be, from the villages to the schools and bases, and the camps outside the country.

The Organisation of Mozambican Women shall be part of the overall structure of FRELIMO, within which it shall be like an arm reaching out to a new sector, the women's sector, whose full and adequate participation has been neglected up to now.

The Conference also hailed the Central Committee for declaring 7 April, the date of the death of Comrade Josina Machel, leader of the Women's Detachment and Head of the Social Affairs Section and Women's Section of the Department of External Affairs, Mozambique Women's Day. The Conference expressed full support for this decision, all the delegates stressing in their speeches the exemplary militant and revolutionary spirit of Comrade Josina Machel.

Finally, the Conference situated the Mozambican women's struggle within its international context. The delegates celebrated 8 March, International Women's Day which fell within the period of the Conference. The President of FRELIMO said in his speech that the coincidence of the Conference and 8 March, the day on which all of progressive mankind solemnly affirm its support for women's struggle for their liberation, is a happy coincidence and should be an encouragement to us, since it draws our attention to the fact that our struggle is not isolated, showing us that women's fight is mankind's fight, and making us feel the progress already achieved.

The Conference hailed the struggle of our fighting sisters and brothers in Angola and Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, who, under the leadership of the MPLA and the PAIGC, have for more than 10 years been fighting arms in hand, like us, against the common enemy — Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

A moving tribute was paid to our comrade-in-arms Comrade Amílcar Cabral, who recently fell at his post. The Con-

ference vehemently condemned Portuguese colonialism for this further barbarous and brutal crime and reaffirmed its full support for the PAIGC and its total confidence in the victory of the united people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. The Conference addressed special greetings to militant Africa, which is at our side sharing the efforts and sacrifices of the war, moved by the ideal of total freedom for our continent, making special mention of Tanzania, Zambia, the Republic of Guinea and the Congo.

The struggle for liberation of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia was described as a direct and valiant contribution to the victory of our struggle.

The Fourth Front opened in Portugal by Portuguese anti-fascist and anti-colonialist patriots in the very midst of the enemy forces was warmly hailed by the Conference as an important step towards consolidating the bonds of friendship and solidarity between the Mozambican and Portuguese peoples.

The Conference expressed its satisfaction at the great victory won by the peoples of Indochina, and of Vietnam in particular, over the United States of America, the ringleader of international imperialism. The victory of the Indochinese people, the Conference stressed, is a source of inspiration for our people.

The Conference congratulated the women and peoples of the socialist countries for their successes in building a new society and for the exemplary way in which they

have assumed their internationalist duty.

The fight of the women and men in capitalist countries and on every continent against colonialism, racism, imperialism, the exploitation of man and discrimination against women was considered by the Conference to be a concrete contribution to the cause of the Mozambican people in general, and of Mozambican women in particular.

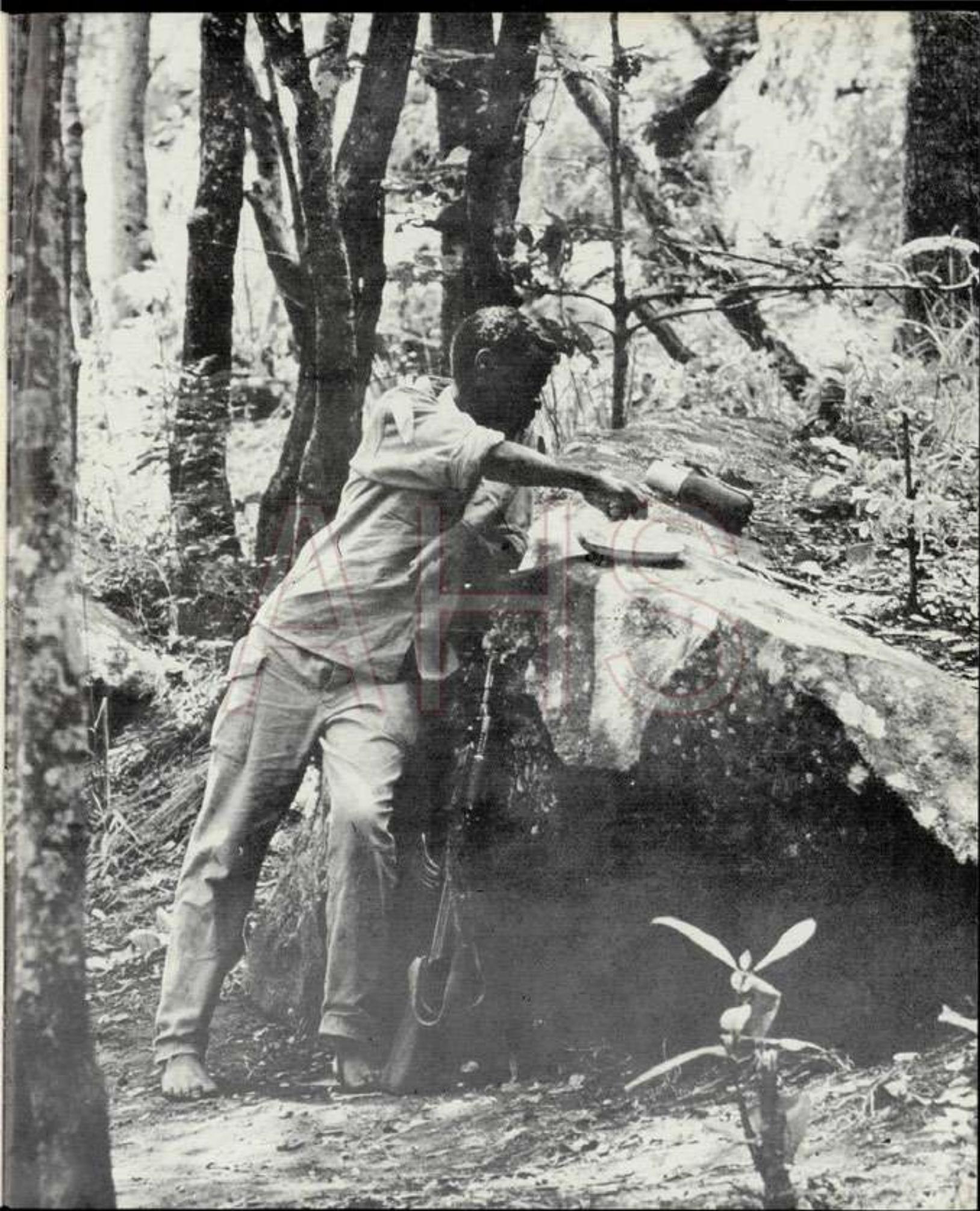
The delegates summed up the conclusions of the Conference at the closing session. They unanimously noted the high revolutionary spirit of the Conference and the frank, open and constructive nature of the discussions. All delegates expressed satisfaction at having learned a great deal through the Conference.

The speech delivered at the opening session by Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, had enabled the Conference correctly to synthesise the spirit and content of the 1st Conference of Mozambican Women.

This was a decisive and historic moment in our Revolution and in the life of women. A new dawn of hope has risen for our women, for our people.

In conclusion, the 1st Conference of Mozambican Women adopted as its watchword the words of the President of FRELIMO: «The liberation of women is a basic requirement for the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and a precondition for its victory».





**7TH APRIL**  
*Day of the  
Mozambican  
Women*

